

Message Text

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L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 CU-02 BIB-01 OMB-01 DHA-02
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R 181712Z MAR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BERLIN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4343
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION USBERLIN UNN
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BERLIN 5554

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, GE, GW
SUBJECT: HONECKER BLAMES FRG POSITION ON GDR BOUNDARIES AND
CITIZENSHIP FOR BLOCKING FRG/GDR RELATIONS

REF: BERLIN 5506

SUMMARY: THE FOREIGN POLICY SECTIONS OF HONECKER'S POLITBURO
REPORT TO THE 5TH MEETING OF THE SED CENTRAL COMMITTEE
MARCH 18 FOCUSED ON FRG/GDR RELATIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS,
A GROWING INTERNATIONAL ROLE FOR THE GDR, AND UPCOMING
VISITS TO EAST BERLIN BY KADAR AND GIEREK. HONECKER
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PLACE BLAME FOR PROBLEMS IN GDR/FRG RELATIONS ON
FRG REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THE EXISTENCE OF TWO
SOVEREIGN GERMAN STATES AND TO ACCEPT A SEPARATE EAST
GERMAN CITIZENSHIP. END SUMMARY

1. HONECKER STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF EXISTING
TREATIES BETWEEN THE GDR AND FRG AND SAID THEY

HAD LED TO POSITIVE RESULTS. THE FACT THAT FRG/GDR RELATIONS HAD FOR SOME TIME NOT BEEN AS GOOD AS THEY COULD HAVE BEEN, HOWEVER, RESULTED FROM WHAT HONECKER REFERRED TO AS THE "KEY QUESTION": THE FRG APPROACH TO THE INNER-GERMAN TREATIES AND THE RESPONSIBILITIES RESULTING FROM THEM. IN PARTICULAR, HONECKER ARGUED, THE FRG WOULD HAVE TO ACCEPT THE EXISTENCE OF TWO SOVEREIGN GERMAN STATES WHOSE EXISTENCE WAS ALREADY ANCHORED IN INTERNATIONAL LAW. THIS MEANT CONCRETELY THAT THE FRG SHOULD ACCEPT THE STATE BOUNDARIES OF THE GDR AS WELL AS A SEPARATE CITIZENSHIP. IN HONECKER'S OPINION, EVEN BOURGEOIS EXPERTS IN INTERNATIONAL LAW HAD ADMITTED THAT IT WAS A "STRANGE" POSITION TO RECOGNIZE A STATE AND SIMULTANEOUSLY DENY THAT IT HAD CITIZENS.

2. HONECKER REFERRED TO AN INCREASE IN "REVANCHIST, NATIONALISTIC AND ANTI-DETENT" AIMS IN THE FRG, SPECIFICALLY SHOWN IN THE RECENT CDU PARTY CONGRESS IN WHICH THE CDU HAD SAID THAT THE FRG HAD A "POLITICAL AND MORAL DUTY" TO REPRESENT ALL PERSONS OF GERMAN HERITAGE OUTSIDE OF THE FRG, "WHETHER IN EAST PRUSSIA OR SILESIA, WHETHER IN BRANDENBURG OR THURINGIA". HONECKER ATTACKED THE CDU FOR BASING ITS POSITION TOWARD THE GDR ON THE PARIS TREATIES OF 1954 AND THE 1973 KARLSRUHE COURT DECISION WHICH EQUATED THE FRG/GDR BOUNDARY WITH THE BORDERS BETWEEN TWO FRG "LAENDER". FOR HONECKER, THIS AMOUNTED TO "THE POLITICAL LANGUAGE

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OF THE COLD WAR OUT OF THE 1950S". HE WARNED THAT SUCH POLICIES WOULD THREATEN THE BASIS OF DETENTE AND NORMALIZATION BETWEEN THE FRG AND GDR. HE REPEATED THE BY NOW STANDARD FORMULATION THAT "REASON AND GOOD WILL" SHOULD RETAIN THE UPPER HAND IN ORDER TO ALLOW NEW STEPS IN NORMALIZATION.

3. ON THE QUESTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HONECKER NOTED THAT A "BITTER STRUGGLE" HAD DEVELOPED OVER THE REALIZATION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT. THE GDR HAD EXPECTED THIS, SINCE THE CAPITALIST STATES HAD DECLARED ATTENTION TO BASKET III. NOW A "GREAT UPROAR" ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS HAD DEVELOPED, WHEN IN FACT THE RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY, INVIOABILITY OF BOUNDARIES, AND NON-INTERFERENCE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS WERE THE TRUE BASIS OF NORMALIZATION. HONECKER ACCUSED THE ORGANIZERS OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN OF NEGLECTING HUMAN RIGHTS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES, WHERE THE RIGHT TO WORK, THE RIGHT TO

EDUCATION AND RECREATION, EQUALITY OF THE SEXES
AND RACIAL EQUALITY HAD NOT BEEN REALIZED. HONECKER
STATED THAT THOSE WHO HAD STARTED THIS CAMPAIGN
WOULD NOT SUCCEED IN HAMPERING STABLE SOCIALIST
DEVELOPMENT BY PORTRAYING "A FEW TRAGIC FIGURES"
WHO HATED SOCIALISM AS REPRESENTATIVE
FOR THE SOCIALIST SOCIETY.

4. ELSEWHERE IN HIS POLITBURO REPORT, HONECKER
GAVE PARTICULAR NOTE TO "THE INCREASED ACTIVITY OF
THE GDR IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS" WHICH FOUND THE
GDR, AS A "STABLE AND STRONG SOCIALIST STATE"
CONTRIBUTING TO DEEPENDING THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIALISM
IN THE INTERNATIONAL AREA.

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5. IN DISCUSSING RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE EASTERN BLOC, HONECKER PAID HOMMAGE TO THE SOVIET/GDR 1975 TREATY, THEN ANNOUNCED THAT KADAR WOULD VISIT THE GDR IN THE NEAR FUTURE. ACCORDING TO NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, THE VISIT WILL TAKE PLACE DURING THE WEEK OF MARCH 21. HONECKER THEN ANNOUNCED THAT HIS RECENT WARSAW VISIT WOULD BE FOLLOWED UP WITH A VISIT BY GIEREK TO THE GDR AT THE END OF MAY TO SIGN A NEW TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE WITH THE GDR, REPLACING THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CURRENT GDR/POLISH 20 YEAR AGREEMENT SIGNED IN 1967. ACCORDING TO HONECKER, THE NEW TREATY WILL REFLECT THE CURRENT STATE OF RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE GDR.

6. COMMENT: HONECKER'S REMARKS ON GDR/FRG RELATIONS PARALLEL THOSE OF GDR MFA OFFICIAL SEIDEL (REF A) WHO ALSO PRESENTED FRG REFUSAL TO RECOGNIZE THE GDR BOUNDARIES AND A SEPARATE GDR CITIZENSHIP AS THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO FURTHER NORMALIZATION IN FRG/GDR RELATIONS. WHILE THE CITIZENSHIP QUESTION WAS LEFT OPEN WHEN THE FRG/GDR BASIC TREATY WAS SIGNED IN 1972, THE GDR HAS NOW DECIDED TO AGAIN SPOTLIGHT THIS CENTRAL ISSUE. SINCE THE CITIZENSHIP QUESTION WAS NOT RESOLVED IN THE 1972 AGREEMENT HONECKER'S ALLEGATION THAT THE FRG IS NOT LIVING UP TO SIGNED AGREEMENTS BY MAINTAINING ITS POSITION, APPEARS TO BE A REFERENCE TO HELSINKI, AS DOES HIS CONTENTION THAT THE EXISTENCE OF TWO SOVEREIGN GERMAN STATES IS NOW ANCHORED IN INTERNATIONAL LAW.

7. IF, AS SEIDEL TOLD EMBOFFS MARCH 8, THE GDR BELIEVES THE TIME HAS NOW COME TO CONSIDER MORE BASIC QUESTIONS IN FRG/GDR RELATIONS, THE PERIOD OF STAGNATION IN THOSE RELATIONS SEEMS BOUND TO CONTINUE. THE CONFIDENCE EXPRESSED BY HONECKER AT THE LEIPZIG FAIR THAT THE FRG/GDR ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIP CAN CONTINUE TO DEVELOP EVEN IF THERE ARE POLITICAL DISAGREEMENTS INDICATES THAT THE GDR MAY BE PREPARED TO EMBARK ON A COURSE OF STEPPED UP PRESSURE ON THE

FRG ON THE CITIZENSHIP AND BOUNDARY ISSUES. GDR CONTACTS
LIKE DR. KOSIN OF THE IPW WITH WHOM WE SPOKE A FEW
DAYS AGO DO NOT EXPECT BONN TO BUDGE ON THESE ISSUES.

8. HONECKER REPEATED SOME OF THE SAME CSCE THEMES
USED BY SOVIET AMBASSADOR ABRASIMOV IN THE LATTER'S
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PRESS OCNFERENCE MARCH 10. THESE INCLUDED THE RIGHT
TO WORK (WHICH ABRASIMOV STATED IS NOT GUARANTEED
IN THE U.S. CONSTITUTION) A FREQUENT THEME IN THE GDR
PRESS RECENTLY. ABRASIMOV TIED HIS CSCE REMARKS TO A UN
CONVENTION ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS PASSED BY THE UN
GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN 1966. HONECKER'S CSCE-RELATED
REMARKS HOWEVER ARE GIVEN IN HEAVY IDEOLOGICAL
COMPARISONS BETWEEN SOCIALIST AND CAPITALISTIC
SOCIETIES.

9. FROM HONECKER'S REMARKS, IT APPEARS THAT
THE GDR AND POLAND WILL SIGN A TREATY, POSSIBLY
PATTERNED ALONG THE LINES OF THE 1975 SOVIET/GDR
TREATY, WHEN GIEREK VISITS EAST BERLIN IN MAY.
WITH KADAR COMING TO EAST BERLIN NEXT WEEK, IT
WOULD ALSO APPEAR THAT CONSIDERATION OF GDR/HUNGARIAN TREATY
MAY BE IN THE OFFING. POLANSKY

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